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/For information on the "polite form" of address used to designate affinal relatives with whom avoidance or "polite form" usage has been instituted, see categories 195/193./

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867 Another episode concerns a small boy who had just become
602 aware of the "polite form" of speech, that indirect mode of ad-
dress in use between affinal relatives who must conduct them-
[681] selves with restraint when they are together. He approached his
• [576] grandmother's home where there were visitors before whom he
was too bashful to appear and, in this most formal manner, asked
if the guests were still inside. He was, of course, greeted by
[606] laughter. He did not realize until later that he "was doing what
a son-in-law does who thinks his mother-in-law is in a certain
place and wants to make sure before he goes in."

867 A comparable mistake was made by some little boys at a girl's
881 puberty rite. During the ceremony the adolescent girl runs
around a basket tray placed to the east of the ceremonial struc-
ture. In her path, that the benefits of the ceremony may accrue
to them also, run young boys and even old men. "When the
girls ran around the basket, we boys were expected to run after
them. At first, we thought it was a real race, and several of us
beat the girls. Then one old man told us that it was not the way,
that we were not supposed to pass them, so we stayed behind the
other three times."

869 Even when the cultural ethic has been unmistakably indi-
764 cated, a youngster may lag in conforming to it. One man was
reluctant to talk about death or burial, for horror of such topics
[761] is great, but he confessed that this had not always been his state
of mind:

> I remember that whenever a funeral procession was passing by we were told not to look at it. But we did look at it whenever the old people were not around.
>
> I once asked my grandmother where they were taking a dead man who was being carried away. She told me not to look at the procession. Then she told me that they were putting the man away; that he couldn't walk, or dance, or eat, or sing by himself any more; that they were putting him under the ground.
>
> "But if they are putting him under the ground, how will he keep the dirt out of his eyes?" I asked. She explained to me that he was all fixed up so that no dirt would get in his eyes. It was the first time I had ever thought about death. I began to ask more questions of my grandmother, but she told me that he couldn't come back any more and to stop talking about it.
>
> [857] A few days later we children played funeral. We killed grasshoppers and buried them.
>
> I wasn't afraid until I was about seven years old. Then I learned about ghosts, and from that time on I was pretty much afraid.

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868 by your mother, and you can learn all the time. I have to train this boy. Of course, he may not hear part of the time, but I have to tell him what he should do, what he has to go through."

868 462 All adults feel the responsibility for furnishing the child with information appropriate to his age and sex:

The boys watch the men when they are making bows and arrows; the man calls them over, and they are forced to watch him. The women, on the other hand, take the girls out and show them what plants to use for baskets, what clay for pots. And at home the women weave the baskets, sew moccasins, and tan buckskin before the girls. While they are at work, they tell the students to watch closely so that when they reach womanhood nobody can say anything about their being lazy or ignorant. They teach the girls to cook and advise them about picking berries and other fruits and gathering food.

867 554 Not much importance is attributed to distinctions of status, but there are band and local group leaders and their families who are conscious of their position and good birth:

The word [good status] includes the idea that they are better educated in the Indian way. More pains are taken with such children; they are kept out of mischief more. They should not resent things easily. They are supposed to be [578] better bred. Quarreling should be beneath them. That is why, when a man is unreasonable or insulting, they say, "Even though you are of worthless stock, you should try to hold yourself back." I hear lots of boys of good families being instructed by their parents. They are told to act accordingly. I heard one girl [521] called down by her father for gossiping. She was told that those of her family did not do this and that she was acting like a trashy person.

"These people," said another informant, "don't want their children to get in any mixup; they are jealous of the reputations of their sons and daughters." So important did training in childhood loom to this man that he added: "A leader's son never fails to make good, for he is trained and advised from boyhood up to manhood."

867 574 576 The difference in social atmosphere with which various families surround the child has been noted thus:

At our camp my father and mother used to say, "Respect whoever comes to your camp. If it is just at mealtime when they come to your camp, just tell them to sit down. Then feed them first." Most of these Indians are this way.

But there are great differences among different families. I've noticed it. A man might have visitors at his home just about mealtime. His wife might cook

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a big meal. Generally, she would serve the visitor first, even if the visitor was a woman. After the visitors had gone, the man might get after his wife and ask her, "Why should you feed those people first? Why didn't you feed me first?"

If a visitor happens to hear of this, he will say, "I'm sorry I went over there. I didn't know that man was like that. I won't go over there any more."

The child must early be made sensible of certain dangers and must learn to be quiet at a command. Enemies often lurk perilously near, and the encampments may suffer severe loss before help can be summoned. Often a child's first memories have to do with threats concerning a dread and shadowy being who preys upon noisy or disobedient children. "The word *gode* is enough. They don't try to describe him. The children become afraid of the word."

Another sound which the child learns to respect is the call of the poorwill. This bird is known by the same name as the masked dancers, for it is thought that the call of the poorwill resembles the traditional call of the dancer as he approaches and "worships" the fire.

When I was a boy, there was a bird that sang only at night. We were told that its song was the voice of the clown of the masked dancers who took bad children. We were pretty quiet and well behaved when we heard that song at night. I realize now that the song is pretty, but when I was a child it frightened me and I disliked it.

This masked-dancer clown, or Gray One, is one of the terrors of childhood. "The clown is going to put you in a basket and carry you off somewhere. Say this to a little child and he is going to mind right away."

The threat of the clown is maintained as long as possible to keep the children out of the way of prowling enemies and predatory animals. When warnings of the clown's arrival lose their efficacy, Gray One himself may "appear."

Suppose now that children are playing out there and won't mind at all. All right! The parents will say, "Let's scare those children."

They go way around through the woods somewhere. Maybe a big fat man goes out there with them, and they put white paint on him. They make him look like the clown. Well, he goes over to the other side of the place where those children are playing in the brush. He takes a little switch or a stick along with him. Then, when he is about twenty yeards away, he shows his face, and one of

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Though most parents exhibit self-discipline, there are instances where tempers are completely lost. Of the conduct of one woman it is reported, "I have seen her knock her little boy around like a ball. Every time he got up, she would knock him down again." Coolness between one father and son goes back to the time, in the words of the latter, "when he used me just like a slave. He whipped me, made me work, and kept me around the house." Similar difficulties have arisen between another father and son because of the father's severity.

E. is a pretty hard man with his wife and children. You see that stick he carries. Well, he is always poking those children with it, and they keep away from him as much as they can. His oldest boy is at Whitetail now. At night he stays in an old shack there. The place where he stays is all caved in. The boy has no blankets there but just sleeps between two old mattresses. The father is trying to get him home, but the boy won't come because he was treated in such a mean way. Not long ago his father tried to hit him with that stick. The boy took the stick away and hit his father on the head instead, and then he went off to Whitetail.

For serious breaches of etiquette or morals the adult in a position of authority takes direct action. A child who impolitely refused a gift quickly learned this:

My grandmother asked me about it. I told her that I had refused it. Then she gave me a good box on the ear, for it is very impolite according to the Indian custom to refuse anything that is offered. If someone gives you a gift, you must take it, no matter what his station in life is. The lower he is, the more quickly you must take it so as not to hurt his feelings.

At a later period, for sexual intercourse, the girl may be whipped by her father, sometimes publicly, with a rope or a stick. The parent expresses himself strongly during the chastisement, reminding her of the good advice she has disregarded and of the wrong she has done the family. The public nature of the punishment acts as a lesson to other girls. The girls "cry loud and long, and the neighbors around usually watch."

Parents who do not wish to whip their boys find other ways of correcting them:

The parents don't like to strike their bigger boys. They get some other fellow to punish him. If a boy doesn't obey and is rough and fights all the time, they take him to the hoop-and-pole ground. His father says, "We'll see how tough

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During these events, women of the adolescent girl's family have brought baskets of fruit and nuts to the rear of the hide upon which she has stood. They throw these presents upon the hide, and a scramble ensues. Thus the cycle which began when the pollen footprints were drawn has been completed symbolically; the fruits have followed the pollen and the season of growth. In the good-natured din and confusion the girl and her attendant retire. The girl has custody of the singer's rattle until evening. It is noon before this opening ritual is concluded, and more food is now distributed.

The afternoon is devoted to social activities—dancing in the open space to the east of the ceremonial structure, singing, racing, and visiting. Men gather at the hoop-and-pole ground, while the women play the stave game. The girl's parents move about among their guests, and grateful visitors seek them out to comment upon their hospitality and "to say they are thankful that this daughter has grown up to have the ceremony." "The feast-givers are shown respect, and all obey them. Nobody ever breaks this rule."

Ordinarily, the girl's ritual obligations are over until evening, but she may be requested to treat the very young during the day:

> The Chiricahua believe that it is good luck for a child or a baby if a girl who is White Painted Woman lifts it up. At any time during the ceremony the girl can take a very young child, pick it up under the arms, and hold it to the directions. This is done to give the child long life and good luck.

She also helps the infirm:

> If your arm is crooked, go to the girl at the time of the ceremony. She can work it and make it straight. She picks up children by the neck too. It is good for them. They tell me to let one of the girls work on me. [This man has a crippled arm.] I go there, but there are lots of people in there, and I back out every time.

In the late afternoon of the first day the adolescent girl or the singer, using a fire drill, lights a fire in the ceremonial structure. This fire is to be kept alive during the course of the ritual or, at least, during the nights. Sometime in the afternoon a great pile of firewood is stacked to the north side of the ceremonial structure. This will be used for the fire around which the masked dancers will perform.

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881 535 [602] lated. Sometimes a man makes a mistake and asks a girl who is his kin to dance with him. She says, 'No, you are related to me.' "

881 535 576 There is a definite etiquette attached to the partner dance:

Some touch or link arms. A very prominent or dignified man would not touch a woman during the dance though. He wouldn't get familiar. A man who dances politely will have his hands locked over his breast. It shows that the man is not bothering the woman. N. [a prominent Chiricahua] always danced with his hands locked over his chest.

An unmarried man may dance with a married woman, or the other way around. It is all right to talk to your partner while you are dancing.

881 533 539 The songs of the partner dance do not differ materially from those of the round dance.

We will go to the last home.

are the only words of one. Its inner meaning is somewhat more complex, however: "The song means that perhaps your camp is the one far from the feast grounds and that after the dance you two are going over there together."

In another song of this type ridicule is heaped on the young man who is enamored of an older woman, the mother of children:

When there is a gathering for the ceremony, sweetheart,
I will take care of your baby for you,
I will take care of your baby for you.

Still another runs as follows:

Oh, Mescalero maiden, don't be afraid;
They are already gossiping about us,
But don't be afraid.
They who speak so chew rocks;[13]
Don't be afraid.

881 533 535 The songs of the third and last social dance of each night of the puberty rite may appropriately be called the morning-dance songs, since the dance they accompany begins several hours before dawn and continues until daybreak.

Toward morning the songs change, and the men and women separate and get in two lines facing each other. The lines are pretty far apart, and the partners of the dance which has just ended are right across from each other. When the sing-

[954] [13] That is, "are envious"; witches are often said to "chew rocks."

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ment for this. It is like an issue[14] to the boys that comes automatically. This comes from a certain kind of shaman who has to do with war. The drinking-tube is given by the same person and is issued in the same way. The shaman has prayers to the directions. He throws pollen to the directions as he makes these things. The tube and the scratcher have a lightning design on. When the boy comes back, he returns the hat, scratcher, and tube to the shaman. The shaman can use them again for others.

"One who is a novice is different from the others." The difference is in the first instance a ritual one: "The older men treat the novices reverently because these young men are on one of their first raids and there are restrictions upon them." Like the pubescent girl, the novice is identified with a supernatural. "On the raid and warpath the men call the novice Child of the Water." Sacred aspects are further emphasized by behavior and food restrictions:

The novice, when he first gets the tube and scratcher and goes out with the others, cannot turn around quickly and look behind him. He must glance over his shoulder first. And in facing the other way he has to turn toward the sun first, the way they throw pollen. Bad luck would come to the party if this was not done.

If the boy does not use the scratcher, his skin will be soft; the flesh will be no good. He has to use the tube for all drinking. It is a rule that is put upon the boy. If he does not use the scratcher and tube, his whiskers will grow fast.

There is also a very strict rule against a novice having sexual intercourse while he is out.

Another thing: he must use the words that have been taught him. If he disobeys in this, he will be very unlucky.

Novices are not allowed to eat warm food, but must eat it cold. If they have to cook the food, they must let it get cold before they eat it. If the novice eats warm food, horses will not be worth anything to him. He is not allowed to eat entrails either. If he eats entrails, he will not have good luck with horses. Meat from the head of an animal is forbidden to him also.

To these rules various informants have added others. The novice should not gaze upward when he is on the raid or a heavy rain will come. He is not supposed to laugh at anyone, no matter how amusing the situation. He must speak respectfully to all the men and must not talk freely or obscenely about women. He must stay awake until he is given permission to lie down; to go to

[14] The Chiricahua refer to rations and goods distributed by reservation officials and the military as "issues."

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224 The rules of the hunt require generosity:

576 The first man who comes up to you when you kill a deer is entitled to the whole deer, no matter who he is. You say to him, "Go ahead, help yourself. Leave what you want for me." He can leave half or take most and leave you a little. You can't say anything. He can take the skin and all. The Chiricahua always feels this way. A poor fellow is out here hunting because he needs meat. If I kill something and he comes over, I share with him. That's the feeling of all the hunters. If you have already butchered a deer and have it on your horse carrying it into camp and meet someone, it is different. Then you give him whatever you want to. It's up to you.

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An etiquette of reasonableness and shrewd utility governs these privileges, however. In no case of which I have a record has more than the hide and half the meat been taken. Often the hide alone or the meat only is accepted. A man who is well supplied with meat and skins may even politely decline the gift, for he knows that acceptance constitutes an implicit claim against him when the situation is reversed.

When two men are hunting together, "it's up to the man who makes the kill to give the hide to the other if he wants to." So automatic is this response that a man who kills a deer while he is in the company of another hunter is said "to kill it for" his friend. "When you are out and you kill a deer for another, he skins it."

The ideal of selflessness in obedience to rule is sometimes difficult to maintain, particularly when hunting companions have a common need of buckskin:

[522] I've heard jokes about hunting. This is one funny story. Two men were hunting together. Both were good shots. They saw a deer close by, a big deer. Neither of them could have missed it, it was so close. Each man knew that he wasn't entitled to the hide if he killed the deer. Each said to the other, "You shoot him." Each was making up all kinds of excuses for not shooting. One said to the other, "I've shot many deer for you, so you could get the hides. Now here's a chance for you to kill one for me, and you don't do it!" The other said, "You can kill that deer, and then I'll get the hide." Meanwhile the deer ran away, and neither of them got it. That's the story I've heard. They laugh when they tell this story.

The strength of the obligation of generosity can be inferred from this account, in which a man, despite his selfishness, is offered a share by the successful hunter:

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C. told me what happened another time. He said, "I saw a big buck in the bushes. I shot him, and the deer just dropped down. So I went over there and put my knife in its throat so it would bleed. Then I had to get my horse that I had left a long ways behind. This happened in a canyon, and, when I shot, A. was over there and heard it.

"While I went back after my horse, A. got to my deer. He dragged it about fifty yards away into some other bushes. I got back to the place where I had left the deer, but I couldn't find it. I followed the track, but every now and then he had lifted up the deer, trying to make me lose the trail. All the time I was trailing I thought no human would do a thing like that. I thought it must be a bear. So I got off my horse and loaded my gun and followed it in the brush, down the hill.

"Pretty soon I saw something black. It was moving in the bushes and I couldn't tell what it was. I was just a little way from it, maybe twenty yards. I saw the black hair; I thought it was a bear. So there I was. I wanted to see where his head was, for I wanted to shoot him in the ribs. I followed him with my rifle, ready to shoot.

"Then A. stood up and said, 'Phew!' I had almost shot that fellow! I walked up to him. I asked him, 'Why is it you took my deer? Why is it you didn't butcher it up there where it was but carried it down here? I almost shot you. I almost took you for a bear.'

"Then A. told me, 'There's your deer; take it then!' I said, 'Go ahead; take what you want. I'll take the rest of it.' "

Then A. took the hide and C. got what was left. C. said, "I was pretty good about it and let him have what he wanted."

When three men are hunting together, and one shoots a deer, his companions run for the fallen animal, and the first to touch it has the privilege of skinning it and keeping the hide. To the others usually go portions of the meat.

It is customary to help the widows and the aged. If there are many such individuals and meat is scarce, the hunter may have little meat left upon his arrival at his own home:

If you go through the camps with a deer, they take it from you. You can't say anything. It's hard to refuse those who haven't any meat. That's the Chiricahua way. They take the hide and the meat; they take what they want. I used to sneak in at night. That's what some do.

Another informant feels that the distribution of food is governed by a more spontaneous generosity. "When a man returns from the hunt, the proceeds are his own. He doesn't have to give anything, but even if a lazy man wants food, he would not refuse him."

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it is permissible "to smack the lips to show that you are enjoying yourself when you are eating out." 264

Not only the stomach but the entire body should be "fed": [826] [481]

We put grease on the legs when we eat in order to "feed" them. It makes us good runners. After we eat fat meat there is grease on our hands, and we rub them on the legs and say, "Let me be a fast runner." Sometimes the leg bone of an animal is broken, and the marrow is rubbed on the lower legs, the forearms, the hair, and the face while this is said.

There are few special usages in departing from friends or in returning to them. A phrase "said at parting, by people who are very graceful in speech, to a friend, acquaintance, or relative" can be literally translated, "May we live and see each other again." Upon returning after a long absence, the formal manner of expressing pleasure and greeting is the embrace. "Friends and relatives embrace; if a friend does it, it means that he thinks a great deal of you." 576

Loneliness growing out of separations has a special treatment. "If you are lonesome, if you have lost someone, or if your daughter has gone away and you are worrying all the time, they put a basket over your head four times, and then you are all right. Now they use a bucket or a sack too." 828 [178]

There are no set phrases to be uttered when a friend is encountered in the vicinity of the camps. "We have no words like 'Good morning' or 'Good evening.' But when we meet a person, we have to say something. You can't call a person's name. You must be clever and say something appropriate to the occasion. You might start off by asking, 'Where have you been?' " 576 [551]

The question of greetings and salutations directs attention again to the proper use of the name.[1] The manner of its employment is well summarized in two statements: 576 551

The name is very valuable. Children are taught not to call a person's name when they meet him. My own name is "Making a Bed All the Time." When I

[1] That the name need not distinguish the sex of the bearer has already been mentioned (see p. 9). An incident illustrates the point. "A woman's name and a man's name are not distinguishable. If I hear nothing more than a name, I have no idea whether it belongs to a man or a woman, just from the sound or meaning. My wife mentioned a certain name. I thought she was talking about a certain man. One day I saw him pass by and I said, 'There goes So-and-so 551

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576 551 was a boy my relatives made a bed for me wherever we stayed, and so I got this name.

576 551 476 I will tell you under what conditions I would call a man's name. If someone in my family died and I wanted help, I would do so. I would go to someone, call him by name, and say, "So-and-so, my wife has died and I need help." The person would then be under obligation to help me all he could. If a man who is in need comes to me and calls me, I would help him at once. I would give what I could.

No matter how poor a man is, if he is called by name, he will do something about it. It makes a person very sad if someone calls on him by name and he is not able to help. If a man calls my name and asks me for something valuable, I will give it to him, because I know he needs it badly. A man is willing to do anything for another if he calls him by name. But if a man asks for something valuable without calling my name, I would consider it a joke, for, if the man really needed it, he would call my name.

[755] [726] If a man is very sick and is sent to a shaman, and he is afraid the shaman will not take the case, he will call him by his name. Also in war or in the war dance the name is used because it is a case of emergency.[3]

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551 (using the name I had heard from my wife). My wife came and looked. 'Why, that's not his name!' she said. 'It belongs to his wife.' "

[128] Because names have been reduced to initials throughout this study, a number of them are included here in translation to indicate their quality. Most of these could be borne by either men or women; a few, such as "Thin Old Woman" and "Red Boy" could not, for they denote sex.

Names of Women	Names of Men
Stepping on Water	Heavy-Set
Round Nose	Going about with Head Bent Down
One Who Has Sucked	One Who Yawns
One Who Stays at Home	One Who Chews
Streaming Down	One Who Peels It
Sleepy	One Who Checks the Horse
Walks into White Man	Not Quite Enough
Yellow Eyelids	Blessing with Pollen
Buckskin Shaker	Little Rabbit
Thin Old Woman	Coyote Has Sores
	One Who Tears Up Things
	Broken Foot
	Little Face
	Belt

576 551 476 703 [3] An instance of the use of the name in an emergency plea is introduced in one of the myths. Wind had hidden from the earth after a quarrel with Lightning. The rain fell unhindered. Finally, the bees were sent to find Wind and induce him to return to his duties. When they located him, "they called the name of the wind, for it was an emergency, and they called his name to his face."

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The only other times a man will call the name of another to his face are when he is drunk or angry; a man in his right senses won't do it. But if a person is angry with another, he drops all reserve and calls the other's name freely, telling him what he thinks of him. You have to be careful about this, for it means a fight. 551 576 578

It is considered very impolite to call a man's name to his face. You might call his name when he is not present, but we think it impolite to call the name of a person who is with you. Not long ago I was by the roadside with a young fellow. An old man was riding past. This young fellow forgot himself and called the rider by name. The old man paid no attention and rode on. The young fellow felt pretty much ashamed.

An occasion when the name was purposely used to start a quarrel was described:

This boy came toward me, calling to me and using my name. "You think you're smart!" he told me. He used my name a lot. He did it with emphasis. Then we started to fight.

Very early the next morning, before I was out of bed, he came over. He had come to tell me that he was sorry for what he had done. He used my name this time too. This was a special occasion; that's why.

The proper use of the name is a potent factor in obtaining a favorable response to a request: 551 574 576 757

One time my wife and I wanted some medicine to keep. We were collecting lots of roots. We had a sack of them. We didn't know how the leaves of one particular plant looked, so we couldn't collect any. My wife heard that an old lady had this kind we wanted, and she asked me to go and get some.

I didn't want to do it, for I knew this plant was valuable to the old lady. She was a ceremonial woman and used some in her ceremony. But my wife kept bothering me until I went to the old lady's home. First I visited with her for a few minutes. You have to act just so to the old people. When I got there, she began to talk about things, about the weather. When you call on a person you haven't visited before, you are treated extra fine, for that person knows you want some favor.

I didn't want to ask her for it. I guess she thought I needed help. People come to her because of sickness. Finally, she asked me what I wanted. I started to say I didn't come for anything special, and then I had to say it; so I called her by name and said, "So-and-so, I am gathering some plants, just out of curiosity. I have some of my own, but I hear you have a plant used in a certain sickness. If you care to, I wish you would give me a sample of it."

I used the language that brings results. She gave me a handful of it. This medicine is for tuberculosis. It is called "narrow medicine" [*Peretia wrightii*]. [37]

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551 When she gave it to me, she told me not to use it, for I didn't know the ceremony
574 and would get into trouble.
576 Later on she met my wife. She told my wife that ordinarily she would not
757 have given me that medicine, that it is very valuable and she doesn't give it away. But I had come like a gentleman. I knew the old customs and how to call her name. I wasn't like so many of the younger people. I had respect for the old customs, and so she gave it to me. Since then I have been pretty good friends with that old woman.

551 To avoid using names, teknonymy, nicknames, and age terms are resorted to in referring to individuals:

You often hear a person spoken of as the father of So-and-so, the mother of So-and-so. The reason for doing this is that it is an easy way to get around calling a person's name, especially before the person or his relatives. A younger person is spoken of through his older relatives too.

I don't know whether I have a nickname. A person's nickname will never be called before him. H. is known as "He Who Wears Glasses." If I say this, everyone knows who I mean. It is a good way of getting out of calling the real name. But though everyone uses it, I doubt that H. even knows about it, and he probably never will.

J. is called "Mexican." Everyone uses this. But he doesn't know it and probably would not like it. But this is not said for meanness. Even some who use polite form to him call him this.

"Old man" is not used like the English "Mr." We never would say "old man" and then add a man's Chiricahua name. The word refers to age or is used so that the name of a person can be avoided. A man goes to a camp looking for another man. He has to let the people there know what he wants. So he says to the wife or whoever is around, "Where is the old man?" They know who he means then, for he's looking for the man of the family.

Lots of people come around looking for my father-in-law. They don't call him by name, for it is very impolite to call a man by his name just for nothing. So they ask for "the old man." Of course, they might mean me if I were absent. My wife would have to take a chance in answering. She could guess pretty well by who it is. If it's someone I know well or go around with, she would know he was looking for me.

201 Persons or objects may be indicated by pointing:
576 If a man asks where another is, the person spoken to is more likely to point with the lips than with the hand. Now old people come in the store and point to objects on the shelves with their lips. Pointing with the hands is really for emphasis and is not considered polite. It should be done only in anger, when you might say, "That man over there!" and point.

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A gesture of mock-seriousness is often seen:

If a person wants to give you a good talking to or wants to emphasize what he is saying, but is just joking, he puts his arms akimbo as he talks. If he pushes the joke too far, you also put your arms akimbo to indicate this. But then you are in earnest and not joking. 201 576

One fellow is always joking with me. When he sees me, even at a distance, he will put his arms akimbo as he comes toward me. Then when we meet he will begin to tell me just what he thinks of me. I kid back at him. I say, "Get that arm down!" and try to knock it down.

If a person is giving you a good talking to or a lot of unwelcome advice, you might say, "All right, go ahead and talk!" and you put your arms akimbo to show that the advice means nothing to you. Or if a person whose opinion you hold to be of little worth suddenly begins to give you advice, you show your surprise that he should talk that way to you by putting your arms akimbo. Then it means, "You've got your nerve!"

If a person takes this posture unconsciously, it is said that he is putting on airs or thinks himself great. This position is taken in imitation of someone who thinks too well of himself.

An informant described how amazement would be shown: 201 152

One time I met C. on the street. "Well," he said, "what's the news?" "There is no news," I told him. "As long as you fellows are satisfied under the government, there is no news. We ought to be free." C. clapped his hand over his mouth.

This story explains when the hand is put over the mouth. I know what C. was thinking. He was thinking, "Oh, what a speech!" It is a sign of amazement used when someone has done the unexpected and has taken you off your feet.

Another time several of us went to sheep camp. We were standing there with our sheep herder. Finally we started to go away. The sheep herder came after us and asked me, "Did you bring me any tobacco?" C. was supposed to take care of this, so I turned to him and asked, "Did you remember the smokes for Chapo?" He clapped his hand to his mouth and held it there a couple of minutes. What he meant was, "By golly, I forgot it!" This illustrates another use of the hand over the mouth.

There is a definite etiquette of visiting:

Suppose somebody is coming to my camp. When he is about fifteen feet away from the door, he clears his throat or coughs loudly to attract attention and let me know he is coming. If I am there with my wife and children, I say, "Here I am. Come in." And when the man sits down politely, the children are already in order. Of a person who walks right in without coughing, we say, "He is not polite." 574 576

Guests usually sit near the door when they come in, although there is no particular place for a visitor to sit. There are many people in there, so they sit

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574 near the door most often because it is the most convenient and unoccupied place.
576 If there is a bed along one side of the home, a visitor doesn't sit there unless he is called and told to.

When you have a visitor, you have to be very careful of how you act. In passing in and out of the house, a person must not touch or press against another person, especially against visitors and strangers. The visitor, in turn, must not let the one who is passing touch him or press against him. To leave your home when you have company is considered very impolite. If you have to leave, you say, "I am going to walk there by you."

574 576 Great politeness is exercised in personal matters between visitors and host:

514 Suppose there are a number of people in my home. We are all interested in some conversation. I'm telling stories or something like that. Perhaps one of the visitors wants to go out and relieve himself. He has to excuse himself. They will know where he is going if he just walks off. So he says, "I have to go out and tend to that horse," or, "I've got my horse hobbled at the foot of the hill over there and I want to chase him toward the water. He hasn't had water all day." Sometimes he hasn't even got a horse there. And another fellow sitting there says, "I have to see about my horse too." And he goes off. Or a person will say, "Well, I have to tend to something!" just as if he suddenly remembered something.

The women make excuses too. They say, "Where have my little ones gone? I'll have to see where they are." That's the way I was taught when I was a child, to make some good excuse.

When two men know each other well, though, if the wife and children are not at home, one will just say to the other, "I am going out."

201 576 When visitors are speaking—and, indeed, when any serious discussion is taking place—it is a mark of good manners to indicate attention and interest by murmurs of approval and interjections of encouragement:

If someone is talking in a social gathering or telling a story, to show that you are interested and are a very polished person, you keep saying, "*he, he,*" at intervals. Or you might say "*do'a,*" which is just like saying, "Indeed!" or "Yes, yes, go on!" Women say it slower, "*doya,*" and in a higher-pitched voice. You hear the old people use it all the time.

During a speech by someone, to show that you approve, you nod your head and break in on him, as whites would with applause, saying, "*ao, ao*" [the affirmative expletive] or "Um, um."

HUMOR

522 201 When friends are together, teasing and bantering take place. Misleading or exaggerated statements are followed by a wink "to

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522 who was telling a group about his ability as a leader was interrupted by a hearer who, deliberately pretending to have misunderstood, remarked, "Yes, we all know you can shake your head pretty hard!"

Another story that points to the quality of the humor is an account of nonchalance under trying circumstances. An old man on horseback was attempting to pass a knot of his friends with some show of dignity. Just then his horse bucked, threw him, and ran ahead. Instead of waiting for the mirth of the beholders, the man pulled out his tweezers the moment he hit the ground and with great unconcern began plucking his whiskers.

PARTIES, DANCES, AND STORY-TELLING

273 574 The preparation of tiswin is almost always followed by a party to which friends and neighbors of both sexes are invited, for the beer is made in relatively large quantities and sours if it is not used at once.

My first tiswin party came when I was about fourteen years old. It was during the summer. A woman who was noted for the good tiswin she made told me to tell my grandmother to come over that afternoon, for she had some tiswin. She invited me too. I went right over to my grandmother and told her. I went with her and attended that party. It was just a social occasion. I drank a lot and got to feeling good. I was not used to it, but I didn't get sick. It lasted about two hours.

[576] They sit around and tell stories at these parties, laughing and talking. A man with a bad temper could not get in. It is considered very impolite to come in to a party without an invitation, but some get around this. They hate to miss it and find some excuse for coming there. One cup is kept going. The woman who gives the party does the dishing-out. A boy of about fourteen can attend. Usually a girl has to be a little older. After this I attended tiswin parties whenever I could.

273 574 533 535 Social dancing and singing sometimes add to the pleasures of a tiswin party. Even the women, when a certain point of gaiety is reached, may elect to act as singers, though this is not their customary role:

One time Mrs. S. and C.'s wife sang social dance songs. The men were all played out. One got the drum and the other helped her. In the old days the Chiricahua woman sometimes sang songs and used the drum too. They used to do it for the round dance. They would get around in a bunch and sing and drum.

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622 554 But most often nothing as formal as this takes place. The retirement of the leader is gradual. His son or some prominent younger man who works closely with him and has his confidence takes charge in an increasing number of situations where physical vigor is essential. The old man, on the other hand, devotes a greater amount of attention to affairs of the camp. It is only a matter of time before the former leader is satisfied to act as the honored patriarch and as "he who commands for the home," leaving to his successor the responsibility for major decisions and military action. Therefore the length of the leader's period of service can be said to depend to a large degree upon his health and the amount of assistance he himself requires. Many leaders hold their following unchallenged until their death because they remain clear of mind and commanding in manner despite advancing years. The hereditary rights of a leader are honored only as long as he can fulfil the promise of his birth:

> If the group is dissatisfied with their leader, if they are tired of him and don't like him, they may just move away and camp elsewhere and recognize another leader. Then the former leader is left alone with his family. If a leader sees that such a thing is going to happen, he can, of course, give up his rights of leadership and remain with the group as an ordinary man.

Leadership, then, is a process in which birth and wealth have their place, but in which ability and personal magnetism are always the leavening factors.

888 [554] Whatever a man's rank in society, as long as he is not senile, advancing years entitle him to increased deference. "A person is respected more in home life when he reaches his prime." This attitude is indicated in countless small details of everyday life. The older person, for instance, is permitted to open the conversation when two individuals meet. One young woman is criticized [576] because she is "too forward with older people" and frequently takes the initiative in greetings. When friends embrace, the older acts first.

888 789 Whatever aged men and women do for the young is especially appreciated; the hope is that the actions of the elders may operate as a prayer to secure comparable long life for the child:

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

262 some Mescalero and some Chiricahua did partake of fish.
[177] After White contact, horses, mules, and wild steer were added to the diet.

[825] There were many animals, such as the mink, beaver,
[224] muskrat, and weasel, which were not used as food but which were sought for their skins or because their body parts were
223 of ceremonial import. Birds such as the eagle, turkey, and turkey buzzard were shot or snared for their feathers or body parts.

224 Head masks were used in stalking deer and antelopes, and head nooses were occasionally strung in the trails for deer. Antelopes were run to exhaustion by relays of men
[223] mounted on fast horses. Oval bird blinds were built at water holes, and from them the hiding hunter would shoot the birds he wanted as they came for water. Eagles and turkey vultures were taken in snares set around the carcass of some dead animal. Occasionally a rabbit surround was held, in which old and young participated and shot or clubbed the prey. The ordinary manner in which a man hunted for larger game, however, was to go out by himself or with a companion, depending upon his knowledge of the habits of the game to lead him to the place where an animal might be browsing, and from there to track it, approach it without being discovered, and dispatch it with a well directed arrow or two.

224 Every aspect of the hunt is governed by rule for the
596 Apache. If he shoots a deer and another man is with him at the time or comes up at that moment, etiquette decrees that he step aside and allow his companion to help himself. The newcomer is entitled to the hide and as much of the meat as he desires. Ordinarily he takes the hide and half of the flesh. If two hunters come upon a third who has just made a kill, they race for the carcass, and the one who touches it first is entitled to the hide. Should both touch the kill at
[526] the same time, the issue is decided by a wrestling match between them.

224 The successful Apache hunter must not turn away the
936 widow or the needy woman empty-handed when he returns

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These st[illegible] figure in ceremonies. The shaman is directed how to make them by his power. They may be decorated with feathers or with something pertaining to the ceremony of the one who makes it, perhaps a snake or lightning. They vary in size.

A shaman can hear from the power through the turquoise and feather. When the shaman prays he uses the feather. If the feather raises itself, he knows the prayer is heard. If the turquoise moves, it is the same.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, pp. 260–61.)

The shaman makes certain that any spectators at the ceremony he conducts are reverent and well-behaved. Not infrequently there are special obligations which remind the on-looker of the solemnity of the occasion. About these insistences, a younger, socially-minded Chiricahua explained:

> It was pretty hard for us younger people to attend. There are always restrictions on everyone who is there. For some ceremonies you can't leave before it is all over for that evening; for some you can't sleep. So we didn't care so much to be at these curing ceremonies. But we always went to the girl's puberty rite, for you could always have a good time there.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, p. 259.)

The source of power, speaking through the shaman, usually places some food or behavior restriction on the patient. Failure to observe this is construed as carelessness or levity in respect to the rite and is likely to lead to a relapse. Many of the failures to cure permanently are explained in this way. Some of the most common post-ritual restrictions are summarized in these statements:

> The shaman has his reasons. He doesn't always tell the patients why, but he tells them to keep the paint (which has been applied during the ceremony) on for so many days before taking it off.